

## Message Text

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4668

EXDIS  
FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, PGOV, RH  
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AT AN ALL-PARTIES  
MEETING -- DISCUSSION WITH DAVID SMITH

1. SUMMARY: GRAHAM AND I HAD A CONSTRUCTIVE LUNCH WITH IAN SMITH'S DEPUTY, DAVID SMITH, REVIEWING THE SUBSTANTIVE SUBJECTS WHICH MIGHT BE DISCUSSED AT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. HE MADE A PARTICULAR POINT OF THE DIFFICULTY THE WHITES WILL HAVE IN ACCEPTING A BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BUT FELT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO CONCEDE A NUMBER OF POINTS IF A RHODESIAN COULD BE FOUND. DAVID SMITH WILL BE A HELPFUL ELEMENT AT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. END SUMMARY.
2. DAVID SMITH, DEPUTY TO IAN SMITH, INVITED GRAHAM AND ME TO A PRIVATE LUNCH AT HIS HOUSE. THE THREE OF US WERE ALONE; THE CONVERSATION WAS FRANK AND SMITH MADE CLEAR THAT HE PREFERRED THIS CONFIDENTIAL
3. GRAHAM STARTED OFF BRIEFING SMITH ON THE STATE OF THE PROPOSAL FOR AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. HE HAD NOT TALKED TO IAN SMITH RECENTLY SO HE WAS NOT AWARE OF THE PROGRESS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, HE WAS OBVIOUSLY PLEASED BY OUR REPORT. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER MUZOREWA WHO WAS SLOW TO MAKE UP HIS MIND AND ENTIRELY UNPREDICTABLE. I SAID THAT AT THIS POINT THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO INSURE THE SUCCESS OF A MEETING. IT WAS OUR VIEW THAT IF IAN SMITH WAS PREPARED TO MAKE SUFFICIENT CONCESSIONS

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LOCATION WHERE HE WAS SURE THERE WERE NO BUGS.

FOR A NEW AGREEMENT WHICH WENT A GOOD DEAL FURTHER THAN THE MARCH 3 SETTLEMENT, THEN WE THOUGHT FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WOULD BE WILLING TO EXERT SUFFICIENT INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONALISTS TO GET THEM TO AGREE ON A FORMULA FOR POWER-SHARING. THERE WERE A NUMBER OF ISSUES WHERE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS WOULD BE REQUIRED. THE FIRST RELATED TO THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE 28 WHITE SEATS WITH A REQUIREMENT OF ONLY 22 TO BLOCK CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

4. THOUGH SMITH STARTED OFF EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ASSURANCE TO THE WHITE POPULATION, HE VERY SOON CONCEDED THAT AS LONG AS THE FIGURE 28 COULD BE MAINTAINED, THERE WOULD BE NO REASON WHY THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SEATS IN THE ASSEMBLY COULD NOT BE INCREASED TO 120 OR 130 IN THE NAME OF GOOD GOVERNMENT." COMPROMISE OF THIS KIND WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WHITES, HE SAID.

5. DAVID SMITH FELT STRONGLY THAT TWO PROVISIONS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH WAS BEING WORKED OUT NOW UNDER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WERE IMPORTANT TO RETAIN: AN UPPER HOUSE OR SENATE, AND A CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT. THE SENATE, HE SAID, WAS NOTHING BUT A DELAYING ELEMENT BUT AS SUCH IT COULD BE VERY USEFUL. WE SAID WE HAD NO SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTIONS TO EITHER OF THESE PROVISIONS PROVIDED THAT AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED AMONG THE PARTIES ON THEM. WE EXPECTED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD OBJECT RATHER STRONGLY TO CONFIDENTIAL

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BOTH. BASED ON A CONVERSATION I HAD HAD THE PREVIOUS EVENING WITH ARISTON CHAMBATI, ZAPU LAWYER, I SAID I THOUGHT THE ZAPU PEOPLE MIGHT BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE ZAMBIAN MODEL OF A PRESIDENT WITH WIDE POWERS AND A PRIME MINISTER WITH LESS AUTHORITY. SUCH A DIVISION MIGHT PROVIDE A PLACE FOR BOTH NKOMO AND MUZOREWA. SMITH DID NOT LIKE THE PROPOSAL, BUT HE ACCEPTED IT AS A POSSIBILITY.

6. ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS DURING THE CONVERSATION, SMITH REFERRED TO CHIRAU WHO HE SAID HAD TURNED OUT TO BE A SURPRISE TO HIM. THE CHIEF HAS NO POPULAR SUPPORT IN THE COUNTRY, HOWEVER, IN PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS SMITH HAS FOUND THAT HE IS ABLE TO ACT AS A CATALYTIC AGENT AND ON ANY NUMBER OF OCCASIONS HAS SERVED AS THE SWING MAN WHO WAS ABLE TO BRING AGREEMENT TO THE GROUP. THOUGH THE OTHER NATIONALIST LEADERS HAVE NO REGARD FOR HIS POLITICAL POWER, THEY DO RESPECT BOTH HIS TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY AND HIS DIGNIFIED BEARING AND PERSONALITY. SMITH SAID HE THOUGHT WE WOULD FIND THAT IN A MEETING, CHIRAU COULD BE A VERY HELPFUL FACTOR.

7. THE DISCUSSION MOVED TO FORMATION OF AN INDEPENDENCE ARMY. WE SPOKE VERY FRANKLY TO SMITH WHOM WE HAVE COME TO KNOW WELL, SAYING THAT WE DID NOT FEEL THE RHODESIANS HAD DONE THEIR HOMEWORK ON THIS SUBJECT. THEY HAD NOT LOOKED CLOSELY AT CARVER'S PROPOSALS WHICH WERE BASICALLY SENSIBLE AND PROBABLY PROVIDED THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION. WE THEN OUTLINED THEM TO HIM. WITH EACH POINT WE MADE HE NODDED AND ACCEPTED IT UNTIL BY THE TIME WE WERE DONE HE SEEMED TO HAVE REVISED HIS VIEW OF OUR PROPOSAL.

8. SMITH THEN RAISED THE SUBJECT WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD BE THE MOST DIFFICULT. HE PLEADED WITH US NOT TO INSIST UPON IMPOSING A BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THIS WAS SOMETHING, HE SAID, WHICH NEITHER HE NOR IAN SMITH COULD EVER REALLY ACCEPT, UNLESS, OF COURSE, SUCH A PERSON COULD BE A RHODESIAN. WE SAID THAT IN PRINCIPLE WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO A RHODESIAN AS RESIDENT COMMISSIONER PROVIDED SOMEONE COULD BE FOUND ON WHOM ALL THE PARTIES COULD AGREE, AND WE KNEW OF NO ONE WHO FILLED THAT CRITERIA. SMITH SUGGESTED FORMER CHIEF JUSTICE BEADLE. WE SAID CONFIDENTIAL

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WE THOUGHT IT WAS UNLIKELY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT COULD ACCEPT HIM. JOHN GRAHAM ASKED ABOUT DICK LUYT WHO IS NOW PRESIDENT OF CAPE TOWN UNIVERSITY AND WAS THE LAST CHIEF BRITISH CIVIL SERVANT IN ZAMBIA JUST BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, AND WELL THOUGHT OF BY KAUNDA. SMITH DIDN'T REPLY SINCE HE DIDN'T APPEAR TO KNOW HIM. SMITH FELT CARVER WAS OUT, CIRCUMSTANCES HAD SIMPLY WORKED AGAINST HIM. WE ASKED SMITH WHETHER HE HIMSELF WOULD SERVE IF THE OTHERS WOULD AGREE ON HIM AND HE SAID HE WOULD. HE SAID HE THOUGHT HE COULD BE FIRM ENOUGH AND HE KNEW THE PARTICIPANTS WELL ENOUGH AND WAS ON GOOD ENOUGH TERMS WITH THEM--EXCEPT MUGABE WHOM HE DID NOT KNOW. HE THEN SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF LORD HOME. GRAHAM ASKED WHETHER HIS VERY FAVORABLE IMAGE IN RHODESIA WOULD OVERCOME THE FACT OF HIS BEING ENGLISH, AND SMITH SAID HE THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD.

9. SMITH THEN BROUGHT UP THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. HE SAID THIS WAS THE FACTOR WHICH SWUNG IAN SMITH TO ACCEPT KISSINGER'S PROPOSALS. WE SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE ITS IMPORTANCE AND HE RECALLED SECRETARY VANCE'S POSITIVE COMMENTS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A FUND IF A NEW SETTLEMENT WAS REACHED. WE NOTED THAT THE AFRICANS, PARTICULARLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, HAD NOT BEEN ALL THAT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE IDEA, BUT WE ASSUME THAT WAS BECAUSE THEY HAD NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD IT. SMITH SAID THAT IT COULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN HELPING TO FIND A SOLUTION IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. HE HOPED WE COULD RESPOND POSITIVELY IF THE MATTER CAME UP.

10. COMMENT: DAVID SMITH IS THE ONE WHITE MINISTER IN THE PRESENT CABINET WHO IS WIDELY RESPECTED BY AFRICANS IN THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS. MUZOREWA'S PEOPLE HAVE GONE OUT OF THEIR WAY TO SPEAK HIGHLY OF HIM IN OUR PRESENCE. THE ZAPU PEOPLE REPORT THAT HE WAS THE ONLY MEMBER OF SMITH'S GROUP AT GENEVA WITH WHOM NKOMO COULD DEAL AND THE ONLY ONE THEY CONSIDER TO BE A MAN OF INTEGRITY. IF THERE IS AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WE CAN DEPEND ON DAVID SMITH TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO FIND CONSTRUCTIVE COMPROMISES AND TO DEAL IN A CONFIDENTIAL

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DIGNIFIED AND RESPECTFUL WAY WITH HIS AFRICAN COUNTERPARTS. I WOULD ALSO NOT ENTIRELY RULE HIM OUT TO HEAD AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT UNDER SOME CIRCUMSTANCES. EDMONDSON

CONFIDENTIAL

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